

## CONTACT LANGUAGES IN AFRICA<sup>1</sup>

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Culture contact has been a topic of special interest to anthropologists. A contact situation lends itself to numerous kinds of study: personality conflict, culture change, diffusion, breakdown and retention of cultural patterns. Another phenomenon occurring in contact situations, and one which would seem to appear in all the above phenomena to some extent, is linguistic change; unfortunately, this aspect of culture contact has not been emphasized, and there is not a great amount of research material available on it.

When individuals of different cultures, and often possessing different languages, come into contact, there are four possibilities for intercourse between them, according to John Reinecke, one of the authorities in the field of linguistic contact and change (1938:107). They may attempt no speech at all, and carry on a purely gesturing or signalling type of communication, such as dumb barter. They may use a lingua franca, that is, a third language which both know. (The term is derived from the original contact language, Lingua Franca, a language used by the French crusaders in dealing with the Levantines.) A lingua franca is essentially "any language used as a means of communication among people of different linguistic backgrounds" (Hall, 1955:25). One group may learn the language of the other, a phenomenon known as bilingualism. Finally, if neither group is in a position to become bilingual or to learn a lingua franca, both may resort to the use of a reduced form of one of the two languages. It is this last type of communication in contact situations which will be discussed in this paper. The continent of Africa will be the geographical area considered.

It is necessary to define the terms which will be used before proceeding. Languages which arise in contact situations have been called by a variety of terms: *linguae francae* (in a more limited sense than above), trade languages or trade jargons, contact languages, minimum languages, marginal languages, hybrid languages, jargons, pidgins, sabirs, and creoles.

The term lingua franca has been used in the following restricted sense: Nous entendons par lingua franca: un language, generalement simplifié, utilisé par des voyageurs, des commerçants, des soldats ou des fonctionnaires, pour se faire comprendre dans divers pays parlant des sous dialectes, des dialectes ou des langues propres, qui ne sont pas connus ou pas suffisamment connus de ces derniers (Van der Kerken, 1944:239).

It would seem better to use lingua franca, not in this restricted sense, but as meaning any language used as a means of communication by individuals speaking different languages.

Certain authors have coined other collective terms to refer to these languages which arise in a contact situation and which have a reduced structure. Reinecke uses the term marginal languages in this sense. Weinreich's term hybrid languages means new languages which have been formed as a result of the modifications in languages that have been in contact. His criteria for

determining whether a language fits into this category are that it has a form different from either stock language and a form which is relatively stable after initial fluctuations; that it has functions other than those of a workaday vernacular, and that it is rated by its speakers as a separate language (1953:69).

These broad terms, and other similar terms such as trade languages, contact languages, and minimum languages, must be more precisely defined to be of use to us here. The restricted definition of lingua franca, referred to above, is more appropriately applied to several terms meaning languages which arise in a contact situation and which have a reduced structure. The terms sabir, pidgin, and jargon are all used in this sense. Sabir is the name of a reduced form of French, and it would seem advisable to restrict use of it to this particular language. The terms jargon and pidgin can be used almost interchangeably. According to Hall, a pidgin language is one with two special characteristics: "it is native to none, or virtually none, of those who speak it; it is sharply reduced in structure and vocabulary, as contrasted with the language from which it is derived" (1955:20). Reinecke's major category of marginal languages is divided into three kinds of contact languages, one of which is trade jargons, marginal languages which remain supplementary and never become the primary languages of any of their speakers. He feels that trade jargons rarely have more than a temporary importance and that they even more rarely become established as the permanent lingua franca of a region.

Bloomfield characterizes a jargon as a language with reduced structure and vocabulary and which is nobody's native language. His idea about the origin of jargons is interesting: When Europeans come into contact with natives, the latter try desperately to learn the European language; the Europeans mock their attempts and speak to them in "baby-talk." The natives can then do no better than to imitate the Europeans' baby-talk, and a language with a reduced and simplified structure results (1933:473). Bloomfield further specifies that when a jargon passes into general commercial use between persons of various nationalities, it is then a lingua franca. Since it would seem that a lingua franca would not always need to arise from a jargon, this definition of lingua franca is perhaps not as useful as the broader definition above.

Pidgin and jargon (or trade jargon) thus have approximately the same meaning. In this paper I will use the term pidgin to refer to a language of this sort, which arises in a contact situation, which has a reduced structure and vocabulary, and which is not the native, or primary, language of any of the speakers.

On occasion a pidgin may become the only language of one of the groups speaking it and is then called a creolized language. There is much more agreement about this term, and Weinreich, Hall, Bloomfield, and Reinecke all use it in much the same sense. Bloomfield feels that a creole dialect is "subject to constant leveling out and improvement in the direction" (1933:474) of the masters' speech. If it is not removed from the dominance of the model language, it will eventually approach it until it is no longer reduced in structure and vocabulary. If, however, the creole dialect is removed from the influence of the model language, it may escape assimilation and embark upon an independent career. In this paper, pidgins and creoles will be lumped under the broader category of contact languages.

It has been widely stated that most of the pidgins and creoles, known historically or extant today, have arisen during and since the Age of Discovery.

Reinecke states in this connection that

those now extant are almost all closely connected with the great migrations of European peoples during the past four hundred years. They are the product of marginal conditions: generally of a primary stage in the contact of cultures, or of the violent uprooting of a great many persons from their native culture (1938:106).

In this paper, the linguistic situation at the time of culture contact will be examined for the continent of Africa. Since this was one of the major areas of colonization by Europeans, it is not surprising to find a large number of pidgins and creoles present here. However, although many of the pidgins and creoles which have arisen are connected with movements of European peoples, by no means all of them are.

In describing pidgins and creoles, one of several approaches may be taken: linguistic, dealing with the form and content of the languages themselves; psychological, dealing with the effects that the languages have on those who speak them; and socio-cultural, dealing with the situations in which languages of this sort have arisen, their uses in the community, their prestige as languages, or lack of it, etc. This paper will discuss pidgins and creoles in Africa from the latter, socio-cultural standpoint.

The body of the paper will be a survey of the numerous pidgins and creoles to be found on the African continent. It will be useful to outline here several general points which will be discussed for each of the languages:

What is the nature of the origin of the language: diffusion of culture, trade, conquest and warfare, colonization? When and where did this contact occur? What is the mother language, or what are the two parental languages, of the language in question? Have any other languages contributed to its structure or vocabulary?

Briefly, does the language fulfill the criteria of a pidgin language? How can it be characterized linguistically? What is the approximate number of its speakers?

What are the functions of the pidgin in the community? What is its social status: prestige, or lack of it; role in social advance, and literary and cultural value?

Has the pidgin become a creole, that is, somebody's first language? If so, how have its functions changed?

What is the future of the language in question, in so far as this can be determined from its present status?

As noted earlier, work in this area of linguistic phenomena in contact situations, especially from the socio-cultural standpoint, has not been extensive. Not all information is complete, therefore, for all of the African pidgins and creoles which will be discussed.

### Swahili

One of the most important languages of Africa is Swahili, which is spoken in one form or another all along the east coast of the continent, far into the Congo, and south into the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, and Mozambique. This is not one

of the languages which has developed out of European colonization; indeed, "at the time of the Portuguese arrival, the whole coast from Mogadishu to Sofala [2,000 miles] was a Swahili-speaking land" (Reusch, 1953:25-26). The origin of this lingua franca is still clothed in mystery; however, most of the arguments concerning its origin group themselves into two main theories.

The first theory of the origin of Swahili is that connected with the name of K. Roehl. Pastor Roehl feels that Swahili was originally the language of a single Bantu tribe, into which words of Arabic origin were subsequently incorporated. This tribe was the Wa-Shomoi, living on the African shore of the Indian Ocean between Somaliland and the Zulu tribes in Mozambique; they are believed by Roehl to be the ancestors of the present-day Wazaramo merchants (Reusch, 1953:20 and Roehl, 1930:195).

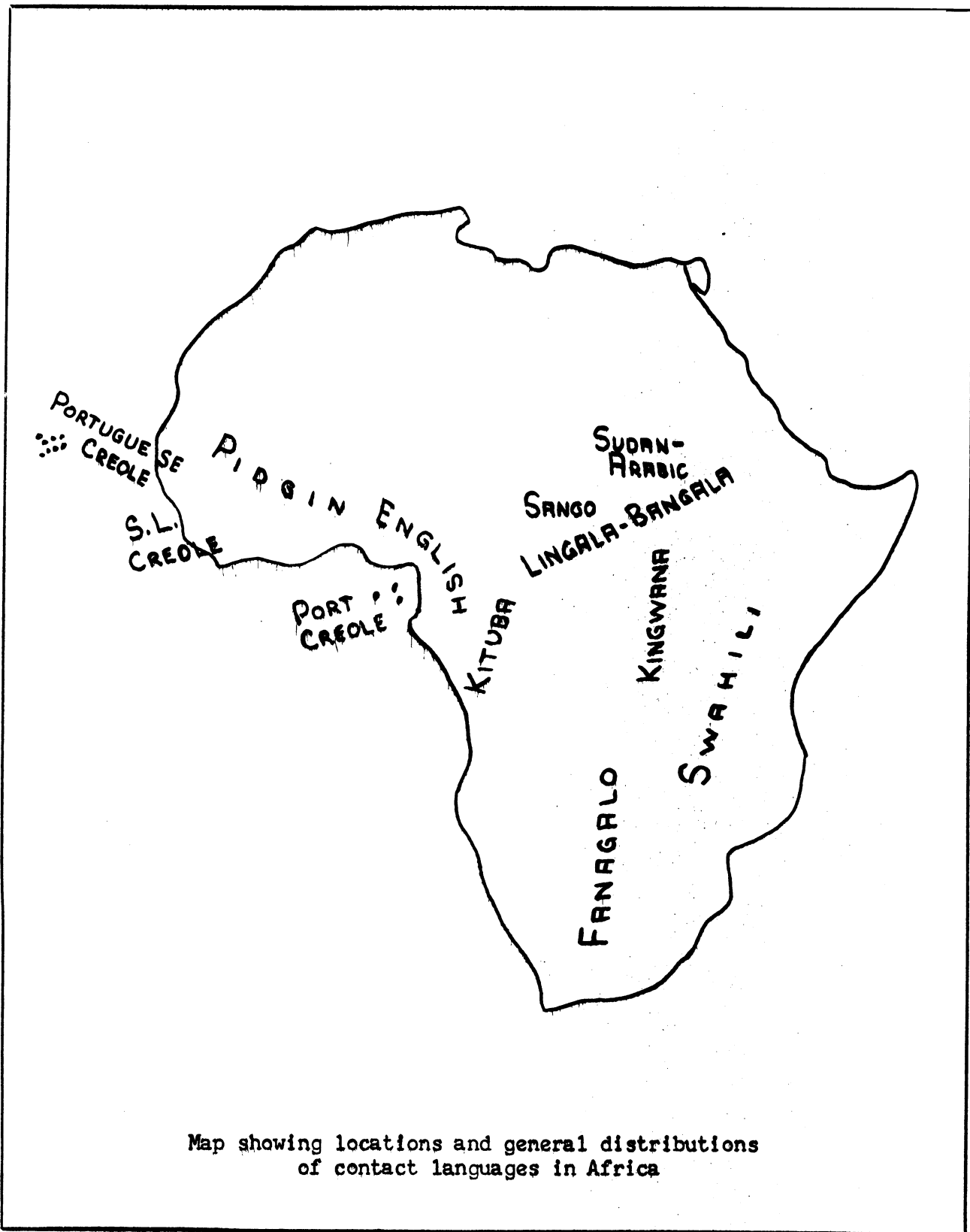
Their [the Wa-Shomoi] language began to spread. Because the Waswahili traded for centuries in Arabian, Persian, Malayan, Indian, and Portuguese articles of merchandise, the foreign names of these articles crept into their language, were Bantuized and absorbed as part of it (Reusch, 1953:20).

In other words, Swahili was once a pure Bantu language; it has received Arabic loan words, but Arabic is not a vital element in the language itself. In connection with this theory, Roehl has suggested that we should "rebantuize" Swahili, that is, purify it by the elimination of words of Arabic origin: "to restrain the too exuberant growth of Arabic words, which after all are a foreign element in the language, and to use instead genuine Swahili words" (Roehl, 1930:199).

G. W. Broomfield and R. Reusch are the main opponents of Roehl's theory of the origin of Swahili. They argue that Swahili is an Arabic word, and that there never has been a present-day or ancestral Swahili tribe. The Arabs have had settlements on the east coast of Africa for at least one thousand years and originally kept slaves who spoke a wide variety of Bantu dialects. It is in an environment such as this, with need for mutual intelligibility, that pidgins arise. The descendants of the original slaves, mixed Arabs and natives, are felt to be the first "Swahili people," and it was among them that the Swahili language came into being. Since this was a language to which both Bantu and Arabic contributed, obviously Arabic is an essential element (Broomfield, 1931:79).

The latter theory would seem to be the more likely one. By 60 B.C. there were known to be scattered Arab settlements along the coast; however, the first Arab vikings probably arrived after 700 A.D. (The Bantu are estimated to have arrived about 600 A.D.). Reusch believes that the homeland of the "Swahili people" and language was the coast of Tanganyika, especially Kilwa, the spiritual and political center of the Arabic empire. The time for the origin was probably after 900 A.D. Indeed, the first recorded Swahili words appear in two Arabic texts dating from the tenth century. It is postulated that during the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, Swahili-speaking peoples formed linguistic "islands" around four major Arabic centers along the coast. "During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were united by a thin strip along the coast. This process was completed during the sixteenth century" (Reusch, 1953:27). We know that by the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, 2,000 miles of coast line were Swahili-speaking.

Other writers seem to support this last viewpoint. Freeman-Grenville writes:



Map showing locations and general distributions of contact languages in Africa

The evidence suggests that if Swahili did not emerge as a written vehicle until the eighteenth century, it existed as a spoken tongue many centuries before. It is no rash act of the imagination to suppose it being in existence in the early fourteenth century, if not several centuries before (1959:20).

Spread of the Swahili language has apparently been going on for centuries, first along the coast and then into the interior. During the last century, it was spread throughout the eastern interior area and into the Belgian Congo by Arab slaving expeditions. Today, although there has been some reduction in its popularity, at least one author believes that it is still expanding, "from Kismayu to Ibo on the East Coast to Stanleyville in the West and deep into Rhodesia and Nyasaland" (Allen, 1959:70). Estimates of the present number of Swahili speakers range between seven million (Hailey, 1957:98-99) and thirty million (Van der Kerken, 1944:239); at any rate, "it will hardly be possible to find a single village in the whole of East Africa where a considerable number of people born in that village do not talk or at least understand Swahili" (Roehl, 1930:196).

To turn for a moment to the language itself, Reusch has estimated that originally two-fifths of the vocabulary was of Perso-Arabic origin and three-fifths of Bantu origin (1953:21). Later Indian, Portuguese, German, and English words were added to enrich the vocabulary. On the coast, there are two major dialects, that around Mombasa, called Kimvita, and that around Zanzibar, called Kiunguja. Other dialects exist, however, for everywhere the different Bantu tribes have left their mark on the Swahili which they speak. These dialects differ mainly in pronunciation, in words of Bantu origin, and in the number of Arabic words in common use. The situation in the Belgian Congo is different and will be discussed later in this section.

Is East African Swahili today a pidgin language? If we accept the second theory for its origin, it is evident that Swahili must have once had all the characteristics of a pidgin language when it first appeared. Due to the length of time which it has been in existence, however, the language has become stabilized; and though it is still comparatively simple, it is now no longer a pidgin. It is, of course, one of the most important contact and trade languages of the area, and for this reason has been included in this discussion. Swahili has become the mother tongue of only a relatively small number of speakers, primarily in the coastal areas of Kenya and Tanganyika. To the rest of the individuals who speak it, it is a second language, albeit an important one.

Swahili has, however, recently become pidginized in several areas; unfortunately, much information is lacking. Reinecke found pidginized forms of Swahili at Zanzibar (1937:851). In Kenya, the settler population apparently makes use of an attenuated form of the language, known as KiSettla (Whiteley, 1956:347). In the Congo, Swahili, which is there known as Kingwana, has become greatly emasculated and is basically a pidgin (Whiteley, 1956:343). Finally, a few other pidginized forms of Swahili, arising in households and in market situations, have been mentioned by writers, but none has been described.

The uses to which Swahili has been put have obviously changed considerably during its long history. During the centuries of Arab-Bantu contact, Swahili probably served primarily as an essential medium of communication for individuals speaking mutually unintelligible languages. When the British and

the Germans took over in East Africa during the last part of the nineteenth century, they made use of this already existing lingua franca for purposes of administration, business, education, and proselytism. Swahili was also used in the various professions and by the police.

In 1930, the Inter-Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee came into being "with the central aim of promoting the standardization and development of the Swahili language" (Whiteley, 1956:345) for purposes of educational instruction. In 1948, the committee was reorganized and placed under the authority of the East African High Commission. Despite this attempt to promote Swahili, it has been fighting, in several East African countries, a losing battle against English and various vernacular languages. In Uganda it is no longer used for education and is used today only by the police. In Kenya, Swahili has only recently declined. It is spoken along the length of the coast as a vernacular and is still widely used for instruction in schools, although some resistance is being offered in Nyanza Province. The facts that the settler population has pidginized the language and that English has more prestige value are contributing to its decline. In Tanganyika, "when the British government assumed responsibility for the administration of the mandated territory, Swahili was already firmly established as a lingua franca and medium of instruction in schools" (Whiteley, 1956:348). It retained its hold and prestige longer than in either Uganda or Kenya because of its long Swahili coastline and several centers of strong Swahili groups and because there was no settler group to develop a pidgin, and no strong nationalistic centers. Only after 1945 did movements to establish particular vernaculars, English, or a Tanganyikan national language, begin to threaten Swahili (Whiteley, 1956:349).

In 1937, Reinecke felt that Swahili enjoyed the "prestige of use by the civilized foreigner, the Arab and the European" (1937:845). Since this statement was made, however, it is certain that Swahili has declined in prestige because of the nationalism of some areas, the opposition of Christian missions, and the material advantages connected with the acquisition of English. Also, there is no "Swahili tribal sentiment" among East coast Africans, and some have experienced a real reaction against the lingua franca. "Many Africans regard the language as a symbol either of evangelism or early education" (Whiteley, 1956:351-352).

Modern Swahili has a considerable literature, both in verse and prose. It is not comparable, of course, to the literature of western Europe, and Dr. Lyndon Harries who has studied it feels that it is not of particularly high quality. The Swahili newspapers in Kenya are written in a rather simplified style, which does nothing to increase the prestige of the language. However, deliberate attempts have recently been made to raise their standards.

Despite the decline of Swahili in popularity in recent years, it is not expected that this will affect its future too drastically. In a heterogeneous linguistic area, it will no doubt have an important place for a long time to come.

Kingwana.--Swahili was introduced into the Congo during the past century by slaving expeditions led by Arab traders and made up of Swahili men from the East African coast. Many Swahilis settled in the Congo area. "The Congo peoples learned Swahili according to their need, and those nearer to the source, the settlements of Swahili traders and their descendants, learned it fairly well"

In general, however, the Swahili language deteriorated as used by the Congo natives, and the resulting lingua franca, a reduction of standard Swahili, is known as Kingwana. Although I could not find it stated explicitly anywhere, it would seem that Kingwana has essentially the characteristics of a pidgin. "The language became more emasculated the farther it extended from the coast, so that in northern Uganda and parts of the eastern Congo, it is essentially a simplified means of communication for individuals of widely differing groups; pruned of all refinements, its link with the coast is a tenuous one" (Whiteley, 1956:343).

The areas in which Kingwana is found are restricted primarily to the eastern part of the country: the provinces of Costermansville, Stanleyville and Elizabethville, and Ruanda-Urundi (Van der Kerken, 1944:239). The speakers, estimated to number about four million, include tribes whose native language may be a Bantu, a sub-Bantu, or even a Sudanic language, as among the Lendu of the area near Lake Albert.

On the east coast, Swahili can be considered a living language; for the natives of the Congo, however, it will never be more than a lingua franca, used for administrative, political, commercial, or educational ends (Larochette, 1950: 145). Harries, too, states that in the Congo, use of Kingwana is purely utilitarian, as a means to an end, the end being education which is greatly desired (1955:15). The missions seem to have played an important part in this development of Kingwana as a lingua franca, especially important for educational purposes. The Catholic missions have preferred to use standard Swahili, while the Protestant missions, while originally preferring to use an attempted standardization of Kingwana, have undergone a gradual change of policy and are beginning to use standard Swahili.

It is certainly true that Kingwana enjoys nowhere in the Congo the importance that Swahili has on the East coast. In 1944, at least one writer (Van der Kerken, 1944:249) was hopeful that Swahili might be established as the official lingua franca of the country; however, this has not come about, and by the 1950's Kingwana and Swahili were facing increasing opposition by educators who wanted to secure the position of French. It is not known what the status of Kingwana and Swahili are at the present time in the Congo.

#### Linguae Francae in the Congo

The Congo is an area of extreme linguistic diversity; over two hundred dialects and languages are known, not to mention the European languages which have been introduced to the area during the last few centuries. It is not surprising, then, to find at least four linguae francae which have gained currency. Only one of these, Kingwana, has been imported from outside the borders. The others have had an indigenous development, in fact, apparently even before the European stimulus of arrival in the Congo.

Elles [les linguae francae] sont la résultante de l'histoire. Ce n'est pas nous qui les avons introduites ou élaborées, au Congo. Elles sont nées des nécessités politiques et économiques (Van der Kerken, 1944:248).

The three other linguae francae are KiKongo in the southwest, Kiluba in the central parts, and Lingala (and its variant Bangala) in the north and northeast. Of these, Kiluba (Chiluba, Tshiluba) can be dismissed immediately since no descriptions of it have been published. It is said, however, to have undergone



less pidginization than the rest (Reinecke, 1937:859). It is derived from dialects spoken by the Baluba, the Basonge, and the Bakuba, and is found in the province of Lusambo (Van der Kerken, 1944:239).

Kituba.--Kituba seems to be the main name for a pidginized form of KiKongo (also called Chituba, Kibulamati, Fiote, Commercial KiKongo, and Kikwango). "When white traders, explorers, and settlers first came to the lower Congo, a pidgin form of KiKongo was used as the principal means of communication between whites and Africans" (Nida, 1955:155). Whether this means that the pidgin was already in existence when the whites arrived, or whether it developed in the contact situation between whites and African natives is not stated. According to Van der Kerken, all the *linguae francae* in the Congo originated before European colonization, so possibly the former is the case. At any rate, this pidgin has been used by Europeans in the Congo longer than any other. It is found today in the southwest part of the Congo and adjacent parts of French West and Equatorial Africa and Angola. It is estimated that there are two million speakers in the Congo, and approximately one million in French Equatorial Africa (Nida, 1955:156).

Kituba is used primarily by government officials, traders, and planters and is found especially in factories and plantations. The missionaries looked down upon it and didn't utilize it for quite awhile. More recently they have realized its uses, and, as an example, the American Mennonite Brethren have put out more than fifty books and pamphlets in the language (Nida, 1955:156).

Kituba, in some areas, has become a creolized language. In such centers as Leopoldville, Leverville, and Kikwit, "there are thousands of people who no longer speak any tribal language, and there are many more who can converse more fluently in Kituba than in the tribal language which they used more extensively at an earlier period" (Nida, 1955:156). Nida, the only author with a statement on Kituba found by this writer, feels that Kituba's prestige is increasing and that its future is promising. Linguistically, it "is now acquiring vocabulary at an amazing rate and is elaborating its morphological and syntactic structure by the addition of more noun classes and greater complexity in the verb expression" (1955:156).

Lingala and Bangala.--Lingala is the major *lingua franca* of the Congo-Ubangui area, in the northwest corner of the Congo. "The language was originally spoken by the Bangala tribe located on the Congo River. They were a trading tribe, and as a result, Bangala, or Lingala, became a trade language used for trading purposes on the many tributaries of the Upper Congo River" (Nelson, 1952:41). According to Reinecke, Lingala has almost all the features of a true Bantu language. He distinguishes Bangala from Lingala because the former is important in the northeastern Congo, Uele River region, an area of Sudanese languages. "Here the original trade jargon, or rather compromise language, which in contradistinction to Lingala has come to bear the name Bangala, became more nearly a true minimum language in structure" (1937:862). Bangala has thus drawn some of its vocabulary from such non-Bantu languages as Zande. There is little basic affinity, then, between Lingala and Bangala, since each is related to a different type of African language (i.e., Bantu and Sudanic), although arising apparently from the same dialect.

Although most important in the north and northeast Congo, Lingala and Bangala actually have a much wider distribution. In 1937, they were spoken along the main lines of communication (i.e., rivers) from the junction of the Congo and

the Kasai to Stanleyville, northward to the Sudan, and southward to the Lower Congo. In the province of Mongalla of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and in French Equatorial Africa, Lingala and Bangala are also found. "The hypothesis that Lingala was and is hampered in its spread into the Sudanic tribes because it belongs to the Bantu language family is further shown by the tendency for it to become considerably more simplified the deeper it penetrates into Sudanic territory" (Nelson, 1952:41).

Lingala and Bangala are used in administration and commerce and are important media of communication in gatherings where mutually unintelligible languages are represented. The armed forces use Lingala as their only common language. Both are fairly extensively used in education. In the missions, "the Catholics prefer a process of re-Bantuization of the trade languages; the Protestants prefer to use them as they are, with only necessary extensions in vocabulary" (Hulstaert, 1946:135). A considerable religious literature is today published in Lingala.

One author (Hulstaert, 1953) feels that Lingala enjoys considerable prestige because it is used by whites in administration, in the courts, and in the army. Reinecke, however, states that it has low prestige among Europeans because of its "mixed nature and defective structure" (1937:862). In 1937, he felt that it was only slowly gaining prestige.

It is unfortunate that so much must be left unsaid about Kituba, Lingala, and Bangala because of lack of sufficient research. The origin of Kituba needs to be clarified; linguistically, work needs to be done on determining its parental stocks and languages which have contributed loan words to its vocabulary; and sociologically, more information on its use and importance in the community and for the individual is needed. Much more information is needed also on the origin of Lingala and Bangala, and a clearer distinction should be made between the two. It would be interesting to know what the exact status of these languages is at the present time, and whether political events in the Congo during the past several years have had any effect on them.

### Sango

Sango, a pidgin language located in the territory of Oubangui-Chari, French Equatorial Africa, is unusual in that it did not originate in a conqueror-conquered type of environment. It was derived from the Sango vernacular dialect, one of the dialects of a language group including also Ngbandi and Yakoma. This dialect was distributed on both sides of the Ubangi River, approximately at the confluence of the Mbomu and Uele Rivers. It was first learned and used as a lingua franca by neighboring groups before the French colonization (1890-1894). Why these neighboring groups adopted Sango is not known since this apparently took place before European contact. During the French occupation, troops, canoers, and traders' assistants were recruited from the natives of this area; and Sango, now in pidgin form, was spread as a trade language along with the colonization of the territory.

Structurally Sango is a simplified form of Ngbandi, its mother language. It has been described as "simplified by the loss of most of its morphology and of the bulk of the original vocabulary, which has been only partially restored by borrowings from other languages" (Samarin, 1955:261-262). (Sango possesses only about one thousand words.) Charles Tisserant has listed loan words from the following languages: Bangala, French, Portuguese, Loango, Lisongo, Sara,

and Nzarkara, with a few words from English. E. Kêrux lists the following languages as having contributed loan words to Sango: French, Portuguese, Nzarkara, Banda, Turku, Mgbaka, and Gbaya. The differences between the vocabulary lists of the two scholars is apparently a reflection of the different dialects of Sango, each tribe inserting more words from its own vernacular into the vocabulary of the pidgin.

The dialects of Sango are thus recognized on the basis of geography and tribal affiliation. However,

there is one dialect of Sango that is socially and not geographically designated; it is that of the displaced or "evolved" population: truck-drivers, roadworkers, travelling merchants, etc. Naturally, the center of this dialect is Bangui, the capitol of Oubangui-Chari. If one can speak of a "standard Sango" this is it. Its influence on the Sango of the rest of the territory, especially in the transmission of French loans, is not to be doubted" (Samarin, 1961:63).

Phonology, like vocabulary, varies considerably throughout the territory. Morphology and syntax, however, are generally the same in all the area where Sango is spoken.

Sango has not spread beyond the boundaries of Oubangui-Chari territory possibly because another lingua franca, Lingala, was already in use in the Belgian Congo. In French Equatorial Africa, it is also competing with other contact languages. Old descriptions list, besides Sango, contact languages known as Tourkou, Pidgin English, Pidgin Portuguese, Mponguoui, Kivili (Loango), Bakongo, and Bangala; Samarin feels that most of these have died out, however (1955:259).

Of the approximately 1,070,000 individuals in Oubangui-Chari territory in 1953, not all of these speak Sango. Men and boys are more familiar with it than are women, who have less opportunity to learn. Called by the natives, "Sango of soldiers" or "Sango of those who go away from the village to work for money," this pidgin is used primarily by Africans, especially in the service of Europeans. European use is restricted primarily to missionaries. For the Africans, Samarin states that "there do not seem to be any specific contexts in which Sango is used. It is used in almost all aspects of life" (1955:262). Certainly two aspects of European life, politics and commerce, would necessitate the use of a common tongue where Africans speaking different languages and Europeans find a need to communicate.

In French Equatorial Africa, French is naturally considered the ideal language, but in reality, Sango is more important. In fact, Samarin feels that Sango is the equal of French in being an important language of the area. "It is a language of prestige, not because the European uses it, but because it is used by the culturally superior inhabitants of the posts" (1955:262). Thus, a language which many would consider as "inferior" is actually serving as a means of social advance. The status of Sango in the eyes of the African reflects somewhat the conflict for the native between the traditional ways of life and the kind of modern civilization which the Europeans have introduced. The urban Africans in Oubangui-Chari are loyal to Sango because to them it represents modern Africa, whereas the native vernaculars represent the old village ways which they are trying to escape. Africans also believe that Sango is a uniting factor among Africans of different cultural traditions (Samarin, 1955:263).

Europeans, of course, do not hold Sango in high regard, considering it a "hodgepodge of words" (Samarin, 1961:62). They have not hesitated, however, to claim that they know more about it than the Africans, and could "therefore make up its rules as they pleased" (Samarin, 1961:62). The future of this lingua franca is definitely not bright, since French, and in some areas Arabic, is the only officially recognized language (Samarin, 1955:267). As long as natives speaking different languages are thrown together, however, it would seem that Sango will have a place.

### Fanagalo

Fanagalo is a pidgin spoken primarily in South Africa; it is also known as Kitchen-Kafir, Mine-Kafir, Pidgin Bantu, Isilololo, Chilapalapa, Conversational Zulu, and Isikula. There are several theories concerning the place, time, and circumstances of its origin. The least likely idea is that it originated in the diamond and gold fields of Kimberly and Johannesburg. As Cole points out, this is a Sotho language area, and since the mother language of Fanagalo is Nguni (Zulu), it is not likely that this is the spot where the pidgin originated (1953:2).

Another suggestion is that Fanagalo "was first spoken in the Eastern Cape and Natal, between the predominantly English-speaking European settlers of these areas and natives speaking one or other of the Nguni languages" (Cole, 1953:2). It is a variant of this theory which Cole favors. Since the pidgin is primarily a mixture of English and Zulu, he feels that the most likely spot for this to have happened would have been in Natal, sometime after 1823 when the first settlement of the area took place, mainly by English-speaking peoples. Cole would give an important place to the Indians in the development of the pidgin. Indian labor began to be imported into Natal about 1860; and since their language would have been of no value in communication, Cole suggests that the Indians learned smatterings of both Zulu and English, and then proceeded to mix the two. He would attribute to the Indians much of the impetus for the early development and diffusion of Fanagalo. Reinecke's ideas on the origin of Fanagalo are similar; he feels that it is of comparatively recent development, after 1850, and that it "grew up to serve for the domestic relations of white masters and Bantu house-boys in the province of Natal, and has been extended to serve between farmers and foremen and their hands, Indian shopkeepers and their customers, and to some extent between foremen and laborers in the Witwatersrand mines" (1937:866).

The parental stocks of Fanagalo are Nguni, English, and Afrikaans. Nguni (mainly Zulu) has contributed seventy percent of the words to the pidgin vocabulary, English twenty-four percent, and Afrikaans six percent. Reinecke also suggests that Xhosa has contributed to the vocabulary. Fanagalo is a true pidgin because it is reduced in structure and vocabulary. It has retained few of the phonetical, morphological, or syntactical features of Nguni.

From Natal, Fanagalo was spread, primarily by the English and Indians, to the diamond and gold mines of Kimberly and Johannesburg; as mentioned above, the pidgin probably did not originate in this area. Later it spread to the industrial and farming areas of the Union of South Africa and of Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and even to the mining areas of the Belgian Congo. In the urban communities which have developed around the copper-mining belt in Northern Rhodesia, Fanagalo is the primary means of communication between the European overseers and African laborers. Concerning the transmission of Fanagalo from South Africa to the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia, Epstein states that:

A high proportion of the early European miners came from South Africa, while many of the Africans who now come to the Copperbelt had previously worked on the land or at Wankie in Southern Rhodesia. Thus many were already well-acquainted with Fanagalo or "Mine-Kafir" long well-established in the south and they introduced it to the Copperbelt" (1959:236).

Fanagalo is thus used as a means of communication between Africans and Europeans, and between Africans and Indians, in industrial and farming situations. It is not used as a vehicle of communication between Africans of differing tribal and linguistic affiliations. Its status is low, both among Europeans and Africans since both regard it merely as a makeshift (Reinecke, 1937:868). It is viewed by Africans as "the language of command and direction" and by educated Africans as part of European racialist attitudes (Epstein, 1959:237). As a language utterly lacking prestige, then, Fanagalo is not expected to survive after the need for it has been exhausted.

### Sudan-Arabic

Sudan-Arabic, also called Southern Arabic, Mongallese, and Bimbashi Arabic, is a reduced form of Arabic spoken in the Southern provinces of the Sudan. It apparently originated during the 1870's when Egyptian soldiers were stationed in the Southern Sudan. The troops, who were recruited from local neighboring tribes, soon began to speak a pidgin Arabic; and this was spread throughout the Southern provinces, its pronunciation varying from tribe to tribe. In 1891 to 1894, a large force of the Sudan mercenaries "were brought into Uganda where they were used to establish British rule. Today the survivors of this group and their descendants form a somewhat privileged class in Uganda" (Reinecke, 1937:853) speaking this reduced form of Arabic as their primary language.

The mother language of the pidgin is the Arabic of these early Egyptian troops, stationed at such places as Wau, Malakal, and the Lado conclave. This is an area of Sudanic languages, but unfortunately there is no information as to which of the many Sudanic vernaculars have influenced Sudan-Arabic in vocabulary, phonology, and syntax. The pidgin is said to be degenerate in vocabulary and grammar.

Sudan-Arabic apparently had three primary functions. Besides being the language of the troops, it was the language of the administration, and eventually was used as the trade lingua franca. Surprisingly enough, its prestige at one time was relatively high although for a very particular reason: "It also had . . . in some places a great prestige as being the language best calculated to win favor with the police--for the native police are not, as a rule, recruited from the tribes among which they function, but from neighboring or even distant tribes, speaking totally different languages" (Tucker, 1934:29).

In an attempt to put an end to this pidgin, the government, in the late 1920's, initiated a new language policy for the Southern Sudan: English was to be the official language, for office, police, and military work; and administration was to be undertaken, as far as possible, in the local vernacular (Tucker, 1934:29). Apparently English caught on fairly well, and the natives took pride in learning to speak it. It is not known whether any remnants of this pidgin still exist in the Southern Sudan or in Uganda today.

## Portuguese Creoles

"No other European language appears in creolized form in so many places and in contact with so many linguistic families as does the Portuguese" (Reinecke, 1937:153). In Africa, genuine Portuguese creoles are to be found in Portuguese Guinea, in the Cape Verde Islands, and in São Thomé, Príncipe, and Annobón. The former is a settler type of creole dialect (when foreigners settle in the midst of a larger native population), and the rest are of the plantation type (when field hands of different language groups develop a makeshift form of communication).

Cape Verde Islands.--This cluster of islands off the extreme western coast of Africa was discovered by the Portuguese during the period from 1445 to 1462-1463, and some of the islands were colonized in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The plantation system was early introduced, and the bulk of the population consisted of African slaves and their descendants brought from the continent. Reinecke feels that the Portuguese tongue was reduced and creolized from the very beginning, that is, from the time of the first introduction of Africans onto the islands (1937:160).

The creole dialect in the Cape Verde Islands differs decidedly from standard Portuguese; unfortunately, there is no recent (or English) linguistic description of it. Two Cabo-Verdean Creoles have summed it up as "a corruption of old Portuguese, with the addition of African terms and even of some broken Spanish, Italian, French, and English words," (Reinecke, 1937:162) but apparently no estimate has been made of the African influence.

Reinecke states that there is no data on the creole from a historical or sociological point of view, and apparently this situation has not been remedied since he did his research. It is known that those of European descent on the islands speak standard Portuguese, though both sexes may use the Creole at times (in situations which are not defined). Plantations still exist in the Cape Verde Islands, but are breaking down somewhat today.

Portuguese Guinea.--Portuguese Guinea was the northernmost, as well as the earliest, of the chain of Portuguese West African posts. It was first explored in 1446, and existed as a slave-trading center well into the nineteenth century. Reinecke feels that it must have been the Cape Verde creole which was carried to Guinea, probably as early as the sixteenth century, although the first description of it was not published until 1849 (1937:166). The parental stock is again old Portuguese; some Spanish words are present in the Creole, and words have been borrowed from the African languages of the peoples living about the various trading posts. Words of African origin are apparently more numerous than in the Cabo-Verdean creole, but a thorough analysis is again lacking. Information on attitudes toward creole dialects is very scanty. This little colony is probably the only place where a reduction of standard Portuguese is likely to remain in use for many years, since French and especially English pidgins are now eliminating remnants of Portuguese pidgins existing elsewhere along the Guinea coast.

São Thomé, Príncipe, Annobón.--These three islands in the Bight of Biafra form a linguistic sub-area of creole Portuguese (Reinecke, 1937:172). The islands were colonized in 1493, and a population of African slaves was imported to work on the sugar plantations. Today the Africans on the present cacao plantations form the bulk of the creole-speaking population. There is no information

on whether a creolized version of Portuguese arose here independently, or whether it was imported from another area. The dialects of the three islands are said to "differ from standard Portuguese much more than does the Creole of the Cape Verde Islands and Portuguese Guinea" (Reinecke, 1937:177); however, they still remain essentially Portuguese. The vocabulary, grammar, and phonetics are said to be influenced by African languages, but there is no mention (or study) of how much influence exists or which African languages have been the influencing agents. Probably languages of the Bantu stock were important since most of the slaves were from Bantu tribes. Today, Creole is in use on the plantations in the primary schools established for the children of the free laborers.

Portuguese as a trade language.--"From the beginning of exploration and slave trade in the fifteenth century clear down to the end of the nineteenth, the Portuguese language has been an important commercial medium at several places along the [west] coast of Africa, and even to a slight extent inland" (Reinecke, 1937:181). In commercial dealings, Portuguese was apparently reduced to a pidgin form, but there is no record of a creole Portuguese trade dialect. During the past one hundred and fifty years, Portuguese and pidgin Portuguese have given way to pidgin English, and survive only in Portuguese Guinea. Although the Portuguese language has elsewhere passed from use on the west coast, it has left a number of words in pidgin English.

#### Pidgin English and Sierra Leone Creole

West Africa is one of the four main areas of the world where Pidgin English is used, the others being China, Northern Australia, and Melanesia (Hall, 1955:15). This broken form of English is spoken more or less from the mouth of the Senegal to the mouth of the Congo. At the present time it is possible to distinguish five varieties of the pidgin, each with its own origins and own history. Three of these have not been thoroughly described in the literature, and it is possible only to mention them here: houseboy pidgin found in Lagos, Nigeria, and Accra, Gold Coast; seamen's trade English found around Brass, Nigeria, which is similar to Kru English (see below), and Monrovia or Liberian English which is said to be similar to the Southern dialect of the United States. Liberia was not founded until 1821, and the community is less composite than that of Sierra Leone; the residents there apparently betray in their speech the fact of their ancestors' residence in the southern part of the United States. Twenty-five years ago, these three varieties of pidgin still existed on the west coast; it is not known whether they still persist today.

The fourth variety of Pidgin English is Kru English, spoken in the Ivory Coast and part of the Liberian Coast. The Krus are thought to have learned English even before Monrovia was settled. This tribe was favored by the white traders and was probably exempt from slave raiding. Most writers give the Krus credit for introducing Pidgin English all along the coast; in fact, this pidgin is often dubbed "Kru-English," or "Kru-boy English" (Reinecke, 1937:619). More information is available about the last variety, Sierra Leone Creole, which will be discussed later in this section.

Kru English, houseboy pidgin, and seamen's trade English are all essentially trade languages. Liberian English would seem to differ from these in that many Liberians have this form of English as their primary language. It is, therefore, for some at least, a true creole rather than a pidgin. The same can be said for the form of English which is reported to be spoken on the island of Fernando Po.

For all of these varieties, except for Liberian English which was apparently developed in the United States and then transported back to Africa, development took place on the west coast in a colonizing situation. Reinecke suggests that Pidgin English first appeared on the west coast before the 1750's since the British appeared here as traders during the last half of the seventeenth century (1937:614). By the latter half of the nineteenth century, use of the pidgin had become current along the entire length of the West African coastline and had begun to reach inland.

"Standard English" is obviously the mother language from which Pidgin English developed. No information exists as to which African tongues have contributed to the formation of the various varieties of pidgin, whether in vocabulary, phonology, or morphology. Reinecke states that several dialectical forms exist, corresponding to the mother tongues where adopted, and that some equate pidgin very strongly with a native language, though the native language picked varies. I would second his appeal for a systematic study of these factors, not the impressionistic surmises that have been made (1937:622).

For those for whom this lingua franca is a primary language, it is naturally used in all phases of life. In the other areas, Pidgin English was and presumably still is indispensable in the conduct of Western trade and business. It is not known whether the pidgin serves as a means of communication between Africans of different tribal affiliations.

The fact that Pidgin English is called "babu-English" by Europeans indicates its utter lack of prestige. The English tend to lump all forms of hybridized English together, whether pidgin or creole, and regard them as wretched makeshifts, though amusing. The following statement concerning the pidgin in Liberia indicates its relative status throughout the west coast:

Pidgin or bush-talk phrases creep into moderately correct English like weeds into a poorly tended garden. . . . Liberians through their schools, their missions, and their government offices seek to thwart the encroachments of pidgin into their resources of legitimate English (Wilson, 1947:61).

The future prospects of Pidgin English are certainly not bright; in 1937 the pidgin was already passing out of existence in some areas because each country was encouraging the use of its own vernacular. In Nigeria, for example, it is now felt to be desirable to stamp out this pidgin and make "Basic English compulsory in every kind of school" (Enemo, 1948:192). These statements do not apply, however, to those areas in which a creole has developed. In Liberia, Fernando Po, and possibly in a few urban centers where detribalized, partly educated Africans have taken up the use of broken English as a true vernacular, it will doubtless remain in use for a long time (Reinecke, 1937:621).

Numerous questions arise about Pidgin English which cannot be answered because the literature simply does not exist. On the linguistic side, it would be valuable to have good information dealing with the parental stocks which have contributed vocabulary to, and influenced in phonology and syntax, each of the major varieties of pidgin. Sociologically, it would be useful to know exactly where the pidgin has developed into a creole, and what functions it serves today in west coast life. Perhaps the five varieties of pidgin listed above are no longer valid, and some would be subtracted and new ones added.



Sierra Leone Creole.--The country of Sierra Leone had its beginning in 1787 when a group of English philanthropists established a small colony of Negroes in this area. Sometime later, about 1,100 Negro ex-soldiers from the American War for Independence and 500 Negro "Maroons" from Jamaica were settled here. In 1807, Sierra Leone became a British colony, and this same year slave-trading was declared unlawful; many of the emancipated Negroes who disembarked at Freetown tended to remain in the area.

The society at Freetown and surrounding areas was, therefore, of a polyglot nature. The emancipated Negroes had come "from all parts of West Africa, though particularly from the coasts of the Gulf of Guinea, and their tribal origins were therefore very diverse" (Richardson and Collins, 1953:247). In this fusion was created not only a heterogeneous society but a complex lingua franca "resulting from the patois of the less educated Nova Scotians and Maroons, and from the liberated groups' own tongues and the adaptation to and adoption of various English words and phrases" (Little, 1950:313). This lingua franca became a true creole, that is, the only language or mother tongue of most of the Sierra Leoneans. There also exists on the coast of the country a form of Pidgin English (called patois) discussed in the last section; however, "present-day Sierra Leoneans claim, with justice, that the Creole idiom has developed a vocabulary, grammatical form and structure, which are entirely lacking from the ungrammatical pidgin English, or ordinary patois of the Coast" (Little, 1950:313).

Little has been written about the linguistic nature of the Sierra Leone creole, even as far as analyzing which languages have influenced it in vocabulary, phonology, and grammatical structure. Also because of lack of information, nothing can be said here about size of the creole-speaking groups and specific functions of the language in the community.

Today the term "Creole" refers to a fairly distinct social class, descendants of the original settlers, in distinction to native Africans of the hinterland who have settled in the country. Members of this class, "which include native Africans as well as Colony-born Africans, have attended college or high school and occupationally are to be found in the senior grade of government clerical or educational service, as clergy, or as agents for European trading firms" (Little, 1950:316). In religion, they are either Christian or Islamic; they are monogamous; and they have taken over European clothes and material culture. The Creoles know standard English and utilize it frequently in conversation and always for formal occasions, but "Creo" is the main language employed, particularly in informal gatherings.

The two other main social classes in Sierra Leone include the literate Africans and the non-literate Africans. The former have either Creo or a native language as their mother tongue, and use it on all occasions except when addressing a European. The non-literate African generally retains his native language although Creo is known and employed in commercial transactions. "Every native individual undergoes a certain amount of 'Creolization,' or the process of taking on Creole habits once he begins to dissociate himself from tribal life" (Little, 1948-1949:16). One way that the native has of expressing his social ambition is to adopt the Creole tongue; in fact, "Creoles sometimes object to a native's speaking to them in English instead of the Creole patois" (Little, 1948-1949:17).

There is a difference of opinion about the prestige enjoyed by Sierra Leone Creo. Reinecke feels that the educated Sierra Leoneans probably look down

upon their vernacular (1937:621). Little, however, states that

. . . use of the patois among Creoles themselves has the effect of strengthening their own feeling of cultural and group solidarity in the face of Protectorate aggression. It is also a mark of a category of person socially superior to the less well-educated and less wealthy Protectorate individual, who adopts it in order to identify himself with the Creoles (1948-1949:17).

#### Discussion and Conclusion

Numerous other pidgins, creoles, and linguae francae exist on the continent of Africa which were not discussed for various reasons. Hausa, for example, is the mother tongue of the Negroes living in northern Nigeria. It is a Hamitic language, with some Sudanic elements, and was spread widely as a lingua franca, apparently even in pre-European times (Reinecke, 1937:840-841). It is not, however, per se, a pidgin although there are suggestions that it has been pidginized in the course of its spread over a large area in West Africa. Other native languages have been widely spread over the continent as linguae francae, but the scope of this paper did not allow discussion of them.

A form of pidgin French found along the west coast of Africa was not included because of lack of sufficient information. Known as *sabir*, or *petit-negre*, it is a makeshift jargon or pidgin used by native workers, soldiers, and domestics. It is nowhere a primary language, nor is it as old or as widespread as pidgin English. "In consequence it has not the same relative fixity of vocabulary and structure as pidgin English and especially Sierra Leonean" (Reinecke, 1937:632). There has been some mention of the possibility that *sabir* is a direct continuation of the original Lingua Franca; however, as Hall states, there is too little evidence to verify this (1955:27-28). In 1937, there was only one short description of this pidgin.

Afrikaans has been considered by some to have originated as a pidgin or a creole language. Although there are at least six main theories concerning its origin, Bloomfield suggests that the Dutch settlers may have developed a pidginized form of their language in communication with native Africans, and that this jargon, in turn, influenced the language of the masters (1933:474). Reinecke states that

Certainly this colonial dialect of Netherlands Dutch, with its strong simplification and tendency to a purely analytic structure, and its amazing rise from a despised doofstommentaalje to a cultivated medium, the official language and chief symbol of nationality for over a million people, presents numerous points of contact with what are accepted without question as creole dialects. So many points of contact, indeed, that the creole dialects can hardly be placed correctly without using Afrikaans as a control of comparison (1937:559).

Afrikaans is apparently unique in that it exemplifies how rapidly a marginal language can acquire prestige. Thus, if Afrikaans is not now a creole, it apparently was at one time in its past history. Space has not permitted its inclusion in this paper; also, it would seem that Afrikaans is possibly better known than the other creoles and pidgins which have been discussed here.

There exists in Africa, then, both historically and at the present time, a wide variety of pidgins and creoles which have arisen in contact situations.

Some have importance on a continental scale, while others are important only locally. In conclusion, and as somewhat of a review, it may be instructive to compare the African pidgins and creoles in certain of their prime features.

As noted in the introduction, it has been widely stated that most of the pidgins and creoles now extant are ultimately connected with the expansion of European peoples in their history of discovery and colonization. Van der Kerken sums up the use to which Europeans have put *linguae francae* (a term which he uses in the limited sense):

L'emploi des *linguae francae* a permis aux Européens de conquérir, d'organiser et administrer le pays, d'y étudier les sociétés des indigènes, leur histoire et leurs institutions, ainsi que leurs langues, d'y organiser des chefferies, des secteurs ou des centres extra-coutumiers, d'y rendre la justice, d'y vendre and d'y acheter les produits les plus divers, d'y utiliser la main-d'oeuvre indigène dans l'industrie, le commerce, l'agriculture, etc. (1944: 249).

In other areas of the world, pidgins and creoles may have resulted from contact with Europeans. In Africa, however, this statement does not seem to be wholly valid. Of the eight contact languages discussed in the body of this paper, only four have definitely arisen as a result of European expansion: the Portuguese Creoles, Pidgin English, Sierra Leone Creole (actually a variant of the second), and Fanagalo. Of the remaining four, two have resulted from contact between Arabs and Africans: Swahili and Sudan-Arabic. Swahili arose in a colonizing and conquest, as well as trading, situation; whereas Sudan-Arabic arose in an administrative context.

The remaining African pidgins apparently arose before European colonization, in a purely indigenous development. The *linguae francae* found in the Congo, except for Kingwana, are of this sort; however, more information on the exact circumstances of their origin is needed. Similarly, Sango in French Equatorial Africa developed in pidginized form before French colonization. Advent of the European powers has, of course, helped the spread of these pidgins.

Concerning the uses to which these African contact languages are put, we must distinguish first between the creoles and pidgins. Where a language has been creolized, it no longer has a restricted set of functions, but becomes the workaday vernacular for the individuals concerned. This is obviously the case with the Portuguese Creoles, Sierra Leone Creole, and the areas in which Swahili and Kituba have become creolized.

The pidgins, on the other hand, have more limited functions which have been found to be strikingly similar for all of the pidgins considered here. Most pidgins are used primarily in the conduct of European affairs. Some, however, are used for more functions than are others. The following pidgins, for example, have been utilized for administrative purposes: Swahili and Kingwana, Kituba, Lingala and Bangala, Sudan-Arabic, and Sango. In education, Swahili and Kingwana, Lingala and Bangala, and Pidgin English have been used. Kituba, Sango, and Fanagalo are especially important in European industry; and Swahili and Kingwana, Sango, Sudan-Arabic, and Pidgin English are important in trade. As *linguae francae*, that is, as means of communication for individuals of different linguistic backgrounds (in general), Swahili and Kingwana, Lingala and Bangala, Sango, and Pidgin English are outstanding. The police have utilized Swahili (in Uganda) and Sudan-Arabic. As a point of contrast, therefore, Swahili

is important in most of these functions, while Fanagalo is used primarily in only one.

It is generally assumed that pidgins and creoles have a low status and enjoy little, if any, prestige (see Reinecke's remark on page 50). This is true, but only from the European viewpoint. For the Africans, who are the primary ones speaking these languages, the pidgins and creoles rank in prestige from high to low. At the bottom of the scale would perhaps be Fanagalo, which the Africans regard as merely a makeshift, and pidgin English, which seems to have little, if any, prestige among Africans in the areas where it is still spoken. Swahili is apparently declining in prestige among Africans today although its status was once relatively high. Of the remaining contact languages, they are either increasing in prestige at the present time, as with Kituba and Lingala, or they enjoy a fairly high place, as with Sango (which is said to be the equal of French in the area where it is spoken), Sudan-Arabic (historically), and Sierra Leone Creole. No data were available on the Portuguese Creoles.

The size of the area in which these contact languages are spoken and their present-day importance would not seem to correspond, in all cases, to their general prestige rating as given above. For example, although Swahili is at the present time declining in prestige, it covers an enormous area and is considered to be one of the important world languages. Kituba and Lingala-Bangala, the important Congo languages, are increasing in prestige; they also cover large areas and are quite important in the total African linguistic picture. The area of Sango is fairly limited, and its total importance is difficult to judge. The Portuguese Creoles, pidgin English, and Sierra Leone Creole are also limited in area; whereas the first two are apparently becoming relatively unimportant, Sierra Leone Creole, connected as it is with social class, will always be important for its speakers. The areas of both Fanagalo and Sudan-Arabic are quite small, and their importance is limited.

The contact languages that are found in Africa are thus both numerous and varied. It remains only to reemphasize the need for further research on this topic, both linguistic and socio-cultural. Since several of these languages are declining in importance at the present time, research on them should be undertaken as soon as possible, while material is still available.

#### ENDNOTE

1. The author wishes to thank Mr. Reinecke for permission to publish quotations from his dissertation, *Marginal Languages: A Sociological Survey of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons*.

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